DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 316 768 CG 022 315

AUTHOR Levy, Gary G.; And Others
TITLE Effects of Interviewer's Sex on Children's Gender-Typing Activities.
PUB DATE Aug 89
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (97th, New Orleans, LA, August 11-15, 1989).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Childhood Attitudes; *Experimenter Characteristics; Interviews; *Research Problems; *Sex Differences; *Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes

ABSTRACT

Young children acquire a knowledge of, and beliefs about, gender-roles at a rapid rate. A total of four studies were conducted to examine some of the factors thought to mediate the impact of examiner's sex on children's gender-typed activities and cognitions. The first two studies looked at children's ratings of videotaped male and female adults shown interacting with a child. The next two studies assessed the roles of other examiner and child variables on children's gender-typing. Each study involved equal numbers of boys and girls ranging in age from about 8 to 11 years. The results indicated that children's gender-typing is influenced by a number of variables, including the sex of the person interviewing them. These studies indicated that factors influencing the behaviors and memories of boys and girls included whether children: (1) had a male or female examiner; (2) expressed high or low amounts of gender-role flexibility; (3) perceived their parents as gender-role permissive or not; and (4) were familiar, or perhaps at ease, with an examiner of a particular sex. The results call into question findings from studies where examiners were of only one sex (typically female) or examiner's and children's sexes were not adequately counterbalanced. The results provide some promising empirical directions for future experimental attempts aimed at modifying children's gender-typing activities. (ABL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED316768

EFFECTS OF INTERVIEWER'S SEX ON CHILDREN'S GENDER-TYPING ACTIVITIES

Gary D. Levy
University of Toledo

P. Vincent Walsh & Phyllis A. Katz
Institute for Research on Social Problems
Boulder, Colorado

Paper presented as part of the symposium, "Children's gender-typing: Effects of gender labeling, examiner's and peers' sex, Gary D. Levy, Chair, at the 97th annual meetings of the American Psychological Association; New Orleans, LA, August, 1989. Special thanks to Beverly I. Fagot, Mary D. Leinbach, and C. Jan Carpenter for participating in the symposium. The first author would like to thank P. Vincent Walsh and Mark Turbin for their prompt and innovative statistical efforts, and Phyllis A. Katz for her graciousness, support, and editorial contributions. The authors would like to acknowledge Susie Saunders for her superb secretarial skills and assistance in completing the manuscript. A more detailed description of this project will be available shortly. Requests for reprints should be directed to Gary D. Levy, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Toledo, 2801 W. Bancroft, Toledo, Ohio 43606.

CG022315

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Phyllis A. Katz

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EFFECTS OF INTERVIEWER'S SEX ON CHILDREN'S GENDER-TYPING ACTIVITIES

Young children acquire a knowledge of, and beliefs about, gender-roles at a rapid rate, and they subsequently apply these conventions at an early age (Brooks-Gunn & Schepp-Matthews, 1979; Huston, 1983; Katz, 1979). Contrary to the once held view that traditional gender-role socialization and gender-typing activities are integral for "normal" personality development in children (e.g., Kagan, 1964), recent research suggests that some aspects of traditional gender-roles and gender-typing may have rather limiting and deleterious effects on several domains of young children's development including children's scholastic achievement, motivation, and social development (Block, 1973; 1983; Carpenter, 1983; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982). Not surprisingly then, considerable interest is beginning to emerge in understanding how to modulate children's gender-typed beliefs and behaviors (viz., Katz, 1986; Liben & Signorella, 1988).

Previous gender-role research has been successful in describing the developmental pathways detailing children's acquisition of gender-typed knowledge, beliefs, and behaviors. Contemporary interests, however, now revolve around examining the more fundamental cognitive and behavioral processes involved in the formation and maintenance of children's gender-typing activities (Martin & Halverson, 1981; 1987). Concurrently, gender-role researchers are becoming increasingly engrossed in trying to produce short- and long-term modification in children's gender-typing and to decrease children's gender-role rigidity (e.g., Katz, 1986; Serbin, Tonick, & Sternglatz, 1977).

Theories of gender-role development offer us clues as to what factors

might be important in modifying and shaping children's gender-role beliefs and behaviors. For example, although varying in its description, one common theme present in many theories of gender-role development (cognitive social learning, psychoanalytical, cognitive-developmental theories) is that children selectively attend to, identify with, or imitate same-sex, typically adult, models (Bandura, 1977; Freud, 1939; Kohlberg, 1966). Therefore attention to adults' physical characteristics, such as sex, might be one important factor affecting children's gender-role acquisition and modification of children's gender-typing activities. In fact, studies examining the modification of gender-role in children have displayed some short-term success, albeit somewhat inconsistently, using modeling and reinforcement procedures, (Katz, 1986).

It is important to note, however, that the model is often quite different from the person the child is interacting with, particularly when symbolic modeling situations are considered. Very little is known about whether the sex of the adult who actually interviews and interacts with the child influences their gender-typing activities (Katz & Coulter, 1986). Investigations of gender-role development frequently avoid looking at this variable, and sex of the interviewer is often viewed and treated by gender-role researchers as a so-called "nuisance variable". Consequently, sex of interviewer is often hastily dropped from statistical examination after preliminary analyses.

Although research from both gender-role (e.g., Baby X studies, father-child versus mother-child interaction, teacher-child interaction) and other psychological domains (e.g., parenting behaviors,

teaching style and experience, peer relations) strongly suggest that male and female adults treat and affect boys' and girls' behaviors and cognitions quite differently, researchers often assume that other aspects of the child's environment are more important and prominent than the sex of the examiner who actually interviews the child. Hence, the influence of examiner's sex on the gender-typing activities of the interviewed child remains relatively unexamined.

Interestingly, in a recent series of studies examining the effects of various factors predicted to affect children's willingness to engage in gender-role atraditional behaviors, Katz and Coulter (1986) observed, rather unexpectedly, that adult, male interviewers elicited significantly more atraditional behaviors in grade school children than did adult, female interviewers. The consistency of this finding, across three separate, large samples and using ten different male and female examiners, suggests that this result is not an artifact. Katz and Coulter (1986) termed these findings the male examiner effect. If this male examiner effect is reliable, it has strong implications for research investigating attempts to modulate children's gender-typing activities.

Why might it be male examiners may be more effective in eliciting atraditional, cross gender-typed activities in children? A number of possibilities appear feasible. First, children may perceive adult males differently than they do adult females. Adult males may, for instance, be viewed by children as possessing higher status and/or power. Consequently, male adults may be perceived by children as more reinforcing. If this is true then children might be expected to

perform better with male examiners on many types of tasks. On the other hand, males might be more efficacious only in gender-role learning because they are perceived by children as "guardians" of gender-role norms. Recent studies suggesting that fathers gender-type more than mothers would appear to support this belief (Huston, 1983).

Finally, the relative novelty and contrast effect of a male adult in the overwhelmingly female adult environment of the typical grade school may act to make a male examiner more salient to children and thus more influential. Novelty can be conceptualized both in this general sense as well as on a more individualized level, i.e., a male interviewer might be more novel to a child who has a female teacher than to one having a male teacher. Similarly, a male interviewer who is non-judgmental about gender-typed behavior might constitute a more salient social stimulus for children who are from less permissive home environments.

A total of four studies were conducted to examine some of the factors thought to mediate the impact of examiner's sex on children's gender-typed activities and cognitions. The first two studies looked at children's ratings of videotaped male and female adults shown interacting with a child. In addition to adult sex, other independent variables included child's sex, degree of warmth displayed by the adult, and the traditionality of the adult's gender-role. Traditionality was varied by having the examiner describe him/herself as possessing either a traditional or an atraditional set of expressed occupational and leisure time interests. Children were asked to indicate both how much they liked the videotaped model, and how much status they associated

with the model.

Contrary to the first stated possibility regarding different perceptions of male and female adults' status and power, results indicated that children did not attribute higher status to either male or female models. Higher status was, however, significantly attributed to both male and female adults who behaved with greater warmth. Warmer models were also liked more by children compared to models who acted out a less warm script. Male models were not liked more by the group as a whole. A significant sex of child by sex of interviewer interaction, however, indicated that boys liked adult, male interviewers more, whereas girls like adult, female interviewers more.

The next two studies assessed the roles of other examiner and child variables on children's gender-typing. Each study involved equal numbers of boys and girls ranging in age from about eight to eleven and a half years. This age range was chosen to replicate the age of participants in the previously cited Katz and Coulter (1986) study.

Although the independent variables differed, the procedures used in both studies were comparable. Children were interviewed by a two-person team of either male or female adult interviewers. They engaged in a task similar to that used previously by Bradbard, Martin, Endsley, and Halverson (1986; also see Bradbard & Endsley, 1983).

In this task nine objects unfamiliar to children (e.g., gyroscope, phone index) were presented to the child in three separate boxes. Each of the three boxes contained three objects. One box had a picture of girls on it, another a picture of boys, and a third box has a picture of both boys and girls on it. The labeling of the objects as for

boys, for girls, or for both boys and girls was counterbalanced. The interviewer initially named, labeled, and described each object.

The use of the Bradbard task avoided several problems inherent in using more familiar, gender-typed objects from the child's play environment. For instance, this procedure permits more experimental control because: a) the actual objects are the same across conditions, and b) it avoids the problem of differential familiarity, i.e., the fact that some children may or may not own certain toys used in the procedure.

Following the introduction of treatment conditions, children were given a six-minute free play period to play with the objects. A time-sampling procedure was employed, and the object being played with was recorded by the interviewer. Following the free play period, a recall task was completed. In this task, children were asked to state the name and any other information he or she recalled about each object.

In the first of these two studies the effects of several child and examiner variables thought to affect children's gender-typing activities were examined. These variables were: 1) examiner's sex, 2) the traditionality of the examiner, 3) children's amount of gender-role flexibility, and 4) children's perceptions of their parents' gender-role permissiveness. After children completed the gender-role flexibility and perceived parental permissiveness scales, the Bradbard procedure was used. As in the previous studies children's amount of free play with and recall of the variously labeled objects were assessed.

Traditional examiners described themselves to the child in terms of

possessing traditional, gender-typed characteristics (e.g., a male carpenter who takes out the garbage). Atraditional examiners presented themselves as having atraditional, gender-role inconsistent characteristics (e.g., a male nurse who takes care of babies). Children's gender-role flexibility was measured by having children complete a questionnaire which tapped their preferences for certain gender-typed toys, activities, occupations, and domestic chores. Children's perceptions of their parents gender-role permissiveness was measured by having children complete a questionnaire measuring how children thought their parents would react to their engaging in atraditional gender-role behaviors.

It was predicted that children greater in gender-role flexibility and/or children who perceived their parents as more permissive would: 1) attend less to gender-typed labels, resulting in better recall for gender-role neutral than gender-typed information (or fairly equivalent recall for gender-typed and gender-role neutral objects), 2) show less differentiation or preferences among gender-typed and gender-type neutral objects in the free play session, and 3) be less affected by any sex of examiner effects than less flexible children and/or children from less permissive home environments.

The principal dependent variable in these studies was amount of flexibility shown in children's free play. This variable was computed as follows. A score of zero was given for each percent of time children spent with same-sex objects. A score of one half was given for each percent of time children spent with objects labeled for both boys and girls. Last, a score of one was designated for each percent

of time children spent with other-sex objects. Thus, scores could range from zero (100% of time spent with same-sex objects) to 100 (100% of time with other-sex objects). The other major dependent variable was children's amount of recall concerning the descriptions of the different gender-labeled objects. These scores could vary from zero to twelve for each object.

Analyses of variance procedures were conducted on children's free play scores. Results indicated that boys spent a greater proportion of time with boy objects than girls did (37.39% vs. 29.09%, $p < .05$). Conversely, girls spent a greater proportion of time with girl objects than did boys (36.10% vs. 26.00%, $p < .01$). These findings confirmed the power of the gender-type labeling procedure and also served as a manipulation check, i.e., the children believed the arbitrary gender-typed designation of the objects.

Analyses of variance performed on children's free play flexibility scores showed no difference between boys and girls. There were no main effects for the remaining factors either but there were a number of significant interactions. Sex of examiner interacted with examiner traditionality. Examination of means (see Table One) indicated that children did not differentiate between male and female examiners in the traditional condition.

However when the examiners were atraditional the male examiner effect appeared. Specifically, children with an atraditional, male examiner displayed more gender-role atraditional behavior. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that male adults are more associated with gender-typing children's behaviors so that children may exhibit

more atraditional gender-role behavior in the presence of less gender-typed male, but not necessarily female, examiners.

There was also an interaction of child gender-role flexibility (as measured by the questionnaires) with parental permissiveness on the free play flexibility measure. The greatest amount of atraditional play was displayed by the group high in both expressed gender-role flexibility and perceived parental permissiveness, and groups low in both (see Table Two). Groups whose own flexibility did not match their perceptions of their parents' gender-role permissiveness were least inclined to engage in atraditional behavior.

There was also a significant four-way interaction involving sex of examiner, traditionality of examiner, child's gender-role flexibility, and perceived parental permissiveness. This result indicated that the previously mentioned interactions in fact interacted between themselves. More specifically, the male examiner effect for atraditional examiners did not hold for the group low in both gender-role flexibility and parental permissiveness. For this group, more atraditional behaviors were performed with males if the examiner was traditional.

Lastly, there was also support for the expectation that highly flexible children with more permissiveness parents would exhibit less differentiation in their free play with gender-typed and gender-role neutral objects (see Figure One).

In general, results also supported some of our predictions regarding children's recall memories. Children who perceived their parents as more permissive and who had an atraditional examiner demonstrated better recall for information concerning gender-role neutral objects

than did children with less permissive parents and an atraditional examiner. One unexpected finding was a main effect for sex of examiner on children's recall of other-sex objects. More was remembered about other-sex objects when the examiner was female (6.36 vs. 5.61, $p < .05$). Reasons for this finding remain speculative.

In the fourth study, familiarity of the examiner to children was experimentally varied. This was accomplished in two ways. First, half of the children were drawn from classrooms with female teachers and half from classrooms with male teachers. Second, an experimental manipulation using a videotape was used. In the low familiarity condition the child saw a tape of a different examiner than the one he or she later interacted with (though sex of examiner was kept the same). In the high familiarity condition the child interacted with the same adult that they had seen on the videotape.

The only significant effect on children's play flexibility in this study was an interaction of sex of teacher by sex of examiner (see Table Three). Children exhibited more flexibility in their play when the sex of their teacher matched the sex of their examiner. It is proposed that this result may suggest a greater comfort level for children whose teacher's and examiner's sexes were the same.

Analyses of the recall scores, however, indicated no interaction of sex of teacher with sex of examiner. Children with female teachers remembered more about all objects, including other-sex objects, than children with male teachers, regardless of the examiner's sex. Results also indicated that boys remembered somewhat more about all objects, regardless of the object's gender-role designation, than did girls

(21.00 vs. 19.46, $p < .05$).

Last, children with male examiners remembered more about other-sex objects regardless of the sex of the teacher. Though this latter finding is in the opposite direction with the finding from the previous study, it is in accord with the findings of the Katz and Coulter study discussed previously.

In a repeated measures analysis of variance, recall for the three classes of gender-typed objects (what shall be called type of memory) interacted significantly with the sex of the examiner. Also, an interaction between type of memory, sex of examiner and sex of child also emerged (see Table Four).

The type of memory by sex of examiner interaction indicates that children recalled more about gender-typed objects with a male examiner. On the other hand, children showed better recall for gender-role neutral objects when with a female examiner. The interaction involving type of memory, sex of examiner, and sex of child demonstrates that this trend involving children's memories for gender-role neutral objects was more pronounced for boys than girls. This pattern of results suggests that children may attend more closely to certain types of information or find certain types of information more salient when with a male or female examiner. This finding has strong implications for procedures aimed at modifying children's gender-typing activities.

In summary, the primary purposes in these studies were to: 1) assess the limits of power of sex of examiner effects, and 2) to explore the effects of additional factors predicted to be related to sex of examiner effects (such as children's perceptions of the examiner,

perceptions of their parents, and children's gender-role flexibility). It appears that children's gender-typing is influenced by a number of variables, including the sex of the person interviewing them. These studies indicated that factors influencing the behaviors (i.e., free play) and memories (i.e., information processing) of boys and girls included whether children: 1) had a male or female examiner, 2) expressed high or low amounts of gender-role flexibility, 3) perceived their parents as gender-role permissive or not, and 4) were familiar, or perhaps at ease, with an examiner of a particular sex.

Few of these results revealed simple effects, however. Regarding children's play flexibility, the male examiner effect was found only when examiners presented themselves to children as atraditional. All groups of children showed this effect except those whose low in both gender-role flexibility and perceived parental permissiveness.

However, the male examiner effect did not occur in the study where traditionality of examiners was not varied. So this effect was not as strong as was found previously by Katz and Coulter (1986). Perhaps the use of artificially labeled objects rather than actual gender-typed ones diluted the effect. Nevertheless, no single explanation of this phenomenon was apparent, but a number could be ruled.

First results indicated that children do not like male adult models more than female ones. Results indicated that boys and girls expressed a same-sex preference for examiners. Moreover, children did not view male models as inherently more powerful than female ones. Furthermore, the novelty hypothesis advanced to explain the male examiner effect (i.e., that it might be due to the novelty of male adults in the grade

school setting) was also ruled out. Rather, in these studies, it was found that greater play flexibility was exhibited when the sex of the examiner matched the sex of the child's teacher.

When subject variables such as children's gender-role flexibility and perceived parental permissiveness were included they also played important roles. Children low or high in both gender-role flexibility and perceived parental permissiveness demonstrated the greatest gender-role flexibility in their free play. These variables also tempered sex of examiner effects in complex ways.

Unlike the previous pattern of results, findings from analyses of children's recall were mixed. In one study, children revealed better recall for gender-typed objects when the examiner was male. Children's recall for gender-role neutral objects was best when the examiner female. These findings support the hypothesis that male adults may be more strongly associated with children's gender-typing. In another study, however, children exhibited better recall for other-sex objects when the examiner was female. Further research examining this inconsistency appears warranted.

In closing, what conclusions can be drawn be from this complex pattern of findings? First, it seems apparent that the sex of the examiner who interviews the child is one very important factor to be considered when looking at or trying to alter children's gender-typing activities. This conclusion presumably calls into question findings from studies where examiners were of only one sex (typically female) or examiner's and children's sexes were not adequately counterbalanced. Intuitively, and now empirically, it seems as if children's gender-

typing activities and experimental performances vary substantially under certain circumstances when they are interviewed by either a male or female examiner.

Second, these data strongly suggest that it is not simply the examiner's sex, per se, which affects children's gender-typing activities. Children of all ages are active perceivers of their social environment (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Higgins, Ruble, & Hartup, 1983). Children's perceptions of the people around them (i.e., their teacher, parents, or even examiners) strongly affect the ways they behave and think. The present pattern of results suggest that children's perceptions of the people around them, including the sex of the adult(s) they interact with, influence the ways they engage in gender-typing activities.

Last, and most encouragingly, results provide some promising empirical directions for future experimental attempts aimed at modifying children's gender-typing activities. More specifically, results indicate that if researchers and educators can adequately assess a child's beliefs and background, they may be more successful in moderating and understanding children's gender-typing activities. Moreover, if procedures were refined and later integrated with specific educational curricula and administration, more successful and beneficial modification procedures might certainly emerge. Further research examining the short and long-term effects of gender-role modification procedures on the gender-typing activities of children at different developmental levels will hopefully bear answers to these and other queries.

References

Bandura, A. (1977). Social learning theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Block, J. H. (1973). Conceptions of sex-role: Some cross cultural and longitudinal perspectives. American Psychologist, 28, 512-526.

Block, J. H. (1983). Differences arising from differential socialization of the sexes: Some conjectures. Child Development, 54, 1335-1354.

Bradbard, M. R., & Endsley, R. C. (1983). The effects of sex-typed labeling preschool children's information seeking and retention. Sex Roles, 9, 2, 260.

Bradbard, M. R., Martin, C. L., Endsley, R. C., & Halverson, C. H. (1986). Influence of sex stereotypes on children's exploration and memory: A competence versus performance distinction. Developmental Psychology, 22, 481-486.

Brooks-Gunn, J., & Schepp-Matthews, W. (1979). He and she: How children develop their sex-role identity. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Carpenter, C. J. (1983). Activity structure and play: Implications for socialization. In M. B. Liss (ed.), Social and cognitive skills: Sex role and children's play. New York: Academic Press.

Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1984). Social cognition. New York: Random Ho

Freud, S. (1939). Female sexuality. International Journal of Psychoanalysis 13, 252-272.

Higgins, E. T., Ruble, D. N., & Hartup, W. W. (1983). Social cognition and development: A sociocultural perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huston, A. C. (1983). Sex-typing. In P. H. Mussen (ed.), Handbook of child psychology, Fourth edition. New York: John Wiley & Son. 388-467.

Kagan, J. (1964). Acquisition and significance of sex typing and sex role identity. In M. L. Hoffman & L. W. Hoffman (eds.), Review of child development: Volume one, New York: Russell Sage, 137-168.

Kohlberg, L. A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role conc and attitudes. In E. Maccoby (ed.), The development of sex differences, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 82-172.

Katz, P. A. (1979). The development of female identity. Sex Roles, 5 (2), 155-178.

Katz, P. A. (1986). Modification of children's gender-stereotype beliefs: General issues and research considerations. Sex Roles, 14, 11/12, 591-602

Katz, P. A., & Coulter, D. K. (1986). Modification of gender-stereotypes in children. Progress report to the National Science Foundation, Grant No. B 8316047.

Liben, L. S., & Signorella, M. L. (1988). Children's gender schemata. New directions in child development, #38. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Martin, C. L., & Halverson, C. F. (1981). A schematic processing model of sex-typing and stereotyping in children. Child Development, 52, 1119-1152.

Martin, C. L., & Halverson, C. F. (1987). The roles of cognition in sex-rol acquisition. In D. B. Carter (ed.), Current conceptions of sex-roles and sex-typing: Theory and research. New York: Praeger Press.

Parsons, J. E., Adler, T. F., & Kaczala, C. (1982). Socialization of achievement attitudes and beliefs: Parental influences. Child Development, 53, 310-321.

Serbin, L. A., Tonick, I. J., & Sternglatz, S. H. (1977). Shaping cooperati cross-sex play. Child Development, 48, 924-929.

TABLE ONE

Effects of Sex of Examiner and Traditionality of Examiner on Children Free-Play Flexibility Scores

	MALE EXAMINER	FEMALE EXAMINER
TRADITIONAL EXAMINER	44.64	44.31
ATRADITIONAL EXAMINER	49.43	42.87

TABLE TWO

Effect of Gender-Role Flexibility and Perceived Parental Permissiveness on Children's Free Play Flexibility Scores

	LOW PERM.	HIGH PERM.
LOW FLEXIBILITY	49.96	33.64
HIGH FLEXIBILITY	42.23	50.14

TABLE THREE

Effect of Sex of Teacher and Sex of Examiner on Children's Free Play Flexibility Scores

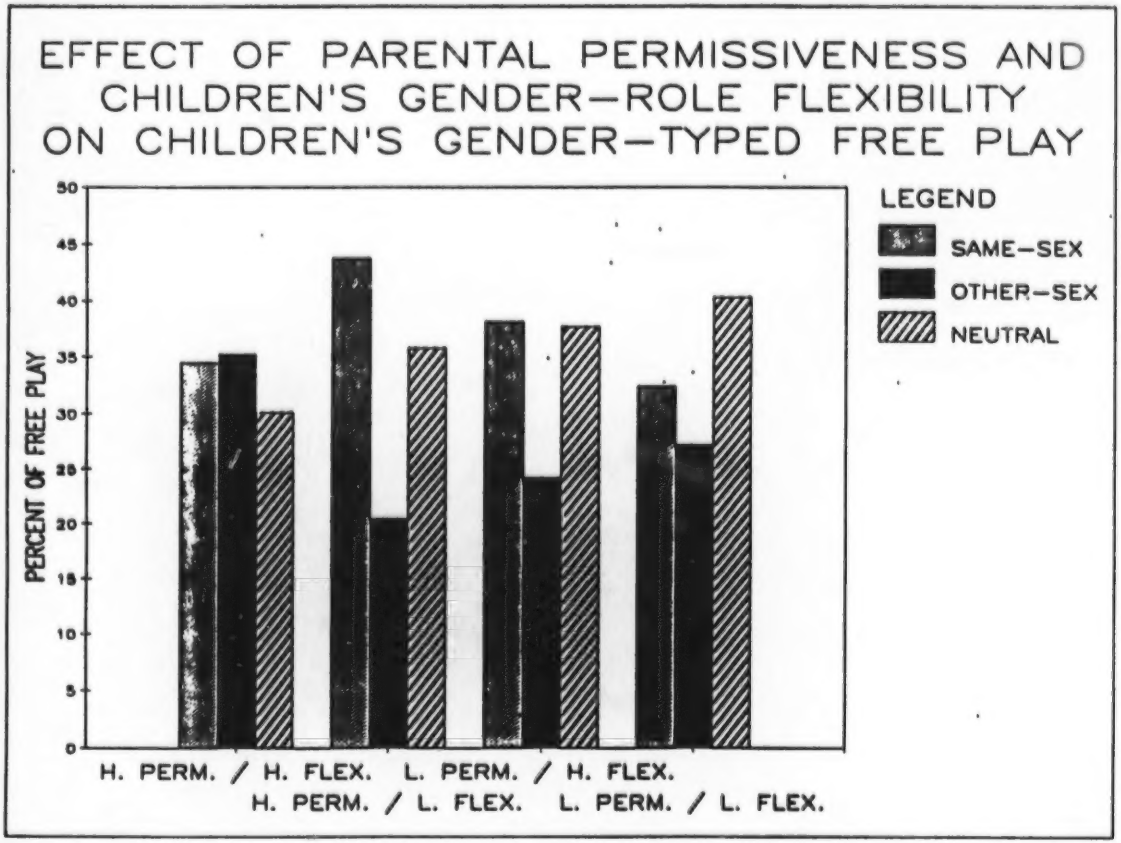
	MALE EXAMINER	FEMALE EXAMINER
MALE TEACHER	52.30	44.03
FEMALE TEACHER	45.70	48.70

TABLE FOUR

Means in Significant Interactions of Children's Recall

	LABEL		
	SAME-SEX	OTHER-SEX	NEUTRAL
MALE EXAMINER			
	7.18	7.07	6.30
BOYS	7.47	7.43	6.10
GIRLS	6.89	6.72	6.50
FEMALE EXAMINER			
	6.65	6.39	6.87
BOYS	7.02	6.56	7.41
GIRLS	6.27	6.23	6.33

FIGURE 1.


EFFECT OF PARENTAL PERMISSIVENESS AND CHILDREN'S GENDER–ROLE FLEXIBILITY ON CHILDREN'S GENDER–TYPED FREE PLAY
PERCENT OF FREE PLAY
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
LEGEND
SAME–SEX
OTHER–SEX
NEUTRAL
H. PERM. / H. FLEX.
L. PERM. / H. FLEX.
H. PERM. / L. FLEX.
L. PERM. / L. FLEX.